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Message Text

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APPROVED BY AF:AMB. SCHAUFELE
S/S-O: D. MACK
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TO USDEL SECRETARY NIACT IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 018805 TOSEC 010235

NODIS
TO SECRETARY FROM SCHAUFELE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, SL, AO, GV

SUBJECT: ACTION MEMORANDUM: PROPOSED MOVES TO AVERT
MPLA RECOGNITION BY SIERRA LEONE AND UPPER VOLTA
(S/S NO. 7601482)

1. PRESIDENT STEVENS OF SIERRA LEONE
FEELS UNDER INCREASING PRESSURE TO RECOGNIZE THE MPLA
IN HIS JANUARY 22 MEETING WITH AMB. SAMUELS,
STEVENS NOTED THAT RETURN VISIT OF SIERRA LEONEN
DELEGATION TO GUINEA AND VISIT OF NIGERIAN SECOND IN COMMAND
BOTH TAKING PLACE JANUARY 23, WOULD MAKE IT DIFFICULT
FOR HIM TO HOLD THE LINE. STEVENS ELABORATED HIS
CONCERN NOT TO BE AMONG LAST TO RECOGNIZE, NOTING
REPORTS THAT ANTI-MPLA FORCES IN ANGOLA WERE LOSING, US
SUPPORT FOR THEM IS WAVERING, CONGRESS REMAINS OPPOSED
TO FURTHER AID AND, HE COMMENTED, PARENTHETICALLY, FACT
THAT IN WAKE OF VIETNAM, US SEEMS UNABLE TO COUNTER
ADVENTUROUS SOVIET THRUST. STEVENS DENIED THAT HE HAD
ALREADY MADE DECISION TO RECOGNIZE MPLA, AND SAID HE
HOPED TO MEET LIBERIAN PRESIDENT TOLBERT JANUARY 25 TO
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DISCUSS PROBLEM. HE URGED THAT ANY INFORMATION AFFECTING

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HIS DECISION REACH HIM BEFORE TUESDAY, JANUARY 27.

2. SAMUELS SUGGESTS THAT STEVENS MAY HAVE RAISED ISSUE WITH HIM IN ORDER TO OBTAIN MATERIAL TO BUTTRESS HIS POSITION OF NON-RECOGNITION. SINCE STEVENS SPOKE WITH RESPECT OF VIEWS OF KAUNDA, SENGHOR AND TOLBERT, SAMUELS URGED THAT FOLLOWING STEPS BE TAKEN TO PREVENT STEVENS FROM SHIFTING HIS POSITION:

(A) TOLBERT BE ADVISED SO THAT HE CAN STIFFEN STEVENS' BACK EITHER IN MESSAGE TO STEVENS, IN TELEPHONE OR TELEX EXCHANGE, OR AT SUNDAY MEETING; (B) LETTER BE ELICITED FROM KAUNDA; C) SENGHOR TO SEND HIGH-LEVEL MESSENGER; D) WESTERN AMBASSADORS IN FREETOWN TO MAKE DEMARCHE; E) BRIEFING MATERIALS TO BE PROVIDED SAMUELS ON LATEST SITUATION; AND F) IF POSSIBLE, PERSONAL MESSAGE BE SENT STEVENS FROM PRESIDENT FORD.

3. IN JANUARY 21 MEETING WITH PRESIDENT TOLBERT AND FONMIN DENNIS , TOLBERT TOLD OUR CHARGE (BEAN) THAT HE (TOLBERT) REMAINS DETERMINED TO LOBBY VIGOROUSLY WITH MODERATES AND PRO-MPLA LEADERS FOR MODERATE POSITION AND THIS IS REASON FOR HIS DECISION ATTEND AMIN'S 5TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION. (DENNIS WILL ACCOMPANY HIM.) TOLBERT SAID HE HOPED TO HAVE SOME IDEAS TO PASS ON TO US AFTER HIS RETURN. BEAN SUGGESTED THAT PERSONAL NOTE OF ENCOURAGEMENT FROM PRESIDENT OR SECRETARY TO TOLBERT AND/OR DENNIS PRIOR TO DEPARTURE FOR KAMPALA WOULD BE HELPFUL. THERE IS NOT MUCH TIME, TOLBERT WILL DEPART 730 GMT SATURDAY, JANUARY 24, AND THERE WILL NOT BE OPPORTUNITY, THEREFORE, TO CONSULT WITH STEVENS ON JANUARY 25. BEAN SUGGESTED, HOWEVER, THAT AMB. SAMUELS ENCOURAGE STEVENS TO TELEPHONE OR TELEX TOLBERT.

4. WE HAVE RECEIVED APPARENTLY RELIABLE INTELLIGENCE REPORT CITING JANUARY 18 REMARKS OF SENIOR OAU OFFICIAL PREDICTING THAT SIERRA LEONE AND UPPER VOLTA WERE LIKELY TO RECOGNIZE MPLA IN NEAR FUTURE AND THAT THERE WOULD BE SIMPLE MAJORITY FOR MPLA GOVERNMENT BEFORE

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OAU FOREIGN MINISTERS' CONFERENCE IN FEBRUARY.

5. RECOMMENDATIONS:

A) THAT YOU AUTHORIZE TRANSMISSION OF THE FOLLOWING PROPOSED TEXT OF A LETTER FROM YOU TO LIBERIAN FOREIGN MINISTER DENNIS TO BE DELIVERED BY CHARGE BEAN.

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BEGIN TEXT

TO AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PFOR, AO

FOR THE CHARGE

PLEASE DELIVER THE FOLLOWING LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY TO FOREIGN MINISTER DENNIS.
QUOTE: YOUR EXCELLENCY:

WITH YOURKIND PERMISSION, I WOULD LIKE TO CONTINUE THE DIALOGUE ON ANGOLA THAT PRESIDENT FORD BEGAN IN HIS LETTER OF JANUARY 3 TO PRESIDENT TOLBERT. THE PRESIDENT AND I ARE BOTH GRATEFUL FOR THE VIGOROUS AND EFFECTIVE EFFORTS WHICH YOUR PRESIDENT AND YOU EXERTED ON BEHALF OF REASON AND COMMON SENSE AT THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY CHIEFS OF STATE MEETING EARLIER THIS MONTH. CHARGE BEAN HAS TOLD ME OF THE CONTINUED FIRM COMMITMENT OF PRESIDENT TOLBERT AND YOURSELF TO A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT OF THE ANGOLAN CONFLICT. AT A TIME WHEN OTHERS ARE SHOWING SIGNS OF DESPAIR, YOUR STEADFASTNESS SERVES AS AN INSPIRATION TO ALL OF US.

SUPPORTERS OF A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT ARE FACING EVER-GREATER PRESSURES FROM THOSE FAVORING AN MPLA GOVERNMENT. AT THE PRESENT TIME, IT WOULD APPEAR THAT PRESIDENT STEVENS OF SIERRA LEONE HAS SERIOUS DOUBTS ABOUT HOW LONG HE CAN RESIST THE INCREASING PRESSURE.

KNOWING AS I DO THE DEPTH OF YOUR CONVICTIONS IN THIS MATTER, I BELIEVE YOU ARE BETTER PLACED THAN ANYONE ELSE
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TO PERSUADE PRESIDENT STEVENS THAT IT IS THE ADVOCATES OF MODERATION WHO MUST REMAIN UNITED. TO DO OTHERWISE WILL MEAN THAT NOT ONLY ANGOLA, BUT OTHER AFRICAN NATIONS, AS WELL, WILL BE SUBJECT TO THE THREAT OF FUTURE FOREIGN INTERVENTION.

I HOPE THAT PRESIDENT TOLBERT MAY FIND AN EARLY OPPORTUNI-TY TO TALK WITH PRESIDENT STEVENS. THE ESTEEM IN WHICH PRESIDENT TOLBERT IS HELD BY HIS FELLOW PRESIDENTS IS SUCH THAT HIS OPINIONS CARRY GREAT WEIGHT.
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THE NEWS THAT PRESIDENT TOLBERT WILL BE ATTENDING PRESI-DENT AMIN'S FIFTH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATIONS, AND THAT YOU WILL BE ACCOMPANYING HIM, WAS VERY GRATIFYING TO ME. I

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FEEL STRONGLY, AS YOU DO, THAT MEN OF REASON MUST SPEAK
OUT LOUDLY IN THIS DIFFICULT TIME TO END THE TRAGIC
FIGHTING IN ANGOLA. THE PRESIDENT AND I WILL BE VERY
INTERESTED TO LEARN OF PRESIDENT TOLBERT'S IMPRESSIONS,
AND YOUR OWN, AFTER YOUR VISIT TO KAMPALA. END QUOTE.

END TEXT

APPROVE

DISAPPROVE

B) THAT YOU AUTHORIZE AMBASSADOR AGGREY IN DAKAR TO
REQUEST SENGHOR TO SEND A PERSONAL MESSENGER ON AN URGENT
BASIS TO PERSUADE STEVENS TO HOLD THE LINE.

APPROVE

DISAPPROVE

C) THAT YOU AUTHORIZE AMBASSADOR WILKOWSKI IN LUSAKA TO
ASK KAUNDA TO SEND A MESSAGE TO STEVENS STRESSING THE
IMPORTANCE OF NO SHIFT IN POSITION AT THIS TIME.

APPROVE

SECRET

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DISAPPROVE

D) THAT YOU AUTHORIZE AMBASSADOR SMITH IN ABIDJAN TO SEE
HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY, RELAY A REPORT WE HAVE ON UPPER VOLTAN
VACILLATION, ASK FOR HIS JUDGMENT, AND ENCOURAGE HIM,
IF APPROPRAITE, TO WEIGH IN WITH UPPER VOLTANS.

APPROVE

DISAPPROVE

DRAFT: AF/C:TRBUCHAN APPROVAL: AF: AMB SCHAUFELE SISCO

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: DOCUMENTS, RECOGNITION, TOSEC, DIPLOMATIC PROTESTS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, FORM OF GOVERNMENT, POLITICAL SITUATION, CAT-C
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 24 JAN 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: ShawDG
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976STATE018805
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: TRBUCHANAN:OSM
Enclosure: TOSEC 10235
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: P840090-2091
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760125/aaaaavyf.tel
Line Count: 213
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: ShawDG
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 23 JUN 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <23 JUN 2004 by izenbei0>; APPROVED <12 OCT 2004 by ShawDG>
Review Markings:

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EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: ACTION MEMORANDUM: PROPOSED MOVES O AVERT MPLA RECOGNITION BY SIERRA LEONE AND UPPER VOLTA (S/S NO. 7601482)
TAGS: PFOR, PEPR, SL, AO, GV, MPLA
To: SECRETARY
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006